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# Some Plain OBSERVATIONS, Recommended to the Consideration of every Honest English-Man; Especially, to the Electors of Parliament-MEMBERS.

I Have liv'd at London the most of my days, where conversing with Freedom and Indifferency, with People of all Parties, and reading with like Indifference Papers printed and recommended by all Sides; I can't but pity the Case of many my honest Fellow-Subjects, who would Choose Good Parliament-Men, if they knew how to distinguish; but who living at a distance from London, (the Place of Action, and of Intelligence) are either blindly led by some powerful Neighbour, or misinform'd and misguided by the false Insinuations of some self-designing Acquaintance; or else expect Instruction from the multitude of Papers, which (especially just before a New Election) flow from the Press, without Number; but these Papers being perfectly contradictory to each other, and giving a different Character, both of Persons and Things, just as may best serve the Ends of *this* Party, to which the Author is inclin'd; a Man instead of being instructed by these Papers, is sometimes bewilder'd, and often deceiv'd; and seldom gains any Increase of Knowledge, except it be, that some call *Right*, that which others call *Wrong*; and that we have the Misfortune of being a foolish and divided People: And since we are so, I advise, that when you read or hear, you mind what is *Said*, more than what is *Said*; and that you consider the constant Behaviour of *this* or *that* Party, or Person, who pretends to instruct you: Consider, if their present Words and Actions agree with their former Declarations, or if their former Insinuations and Professions were only to deceive you for selfish Ends of personal Advantage: If you find this happen in many Instances, upon many Persons, of one and the same Party; you will thereby be naturally led to suspect the whole Party.

I once thought, nothing could draw me from my Indifference to *All* Parties, or make me break my Resolution of Joining with *None*; but when I observ'd a certain Set of Men, perpetually clamouring against the Conduct of the late King WILLIAM's Reign, distressing his Ministers by all Ways imaginable, and not sparing the KING Himself; Ejecting many of his Friends from Parliament, on Pretence of their having Places, and yet keeping in Parliament others, tho' under the *same* Circumstances; courting a popular Esteem, by declaring they would *never* have any Place, whilst they had the Honour of a Place in Parliament: I say, when I consider'd these Things; and that *these* Men got into Court-Places, which they sought after with Greediness, as often as they had any Opportunity to do so; I was unavoidably led to a more strict Inquisition into the Conduct and Designs of these Men; and at length could find little Difference between them and their whole Party; except, that some of them were got into Places, and others would have got them, if they could: But that Places and Preferments were the Rule and Guide of all their Actions; however gilded over with specious popular Pretences, by which they deceiv'd many well-meaning People, to the great and irreparable Damage of these Kingdoms, appear'd to me very plainly; and gave me such an ugly Prospect of the fatal Consequence of their Proceedings, as forces me to call out to my Brethren, "SAVE YOURSELVES FROM THIS UNTOWARD GENERATION."

To give you a full and particular Account of the Conduct of *these* Men, in all the Instances, by which they have sacrific'd the Good and Welfare of our Country, to their Malice or Ambition, were too long for this Paper; I'll only touch upon some few Instances from time to time, which shews, the same Spirit has all along reign'd in them.

How did they clog the Wheels of the Government in the late K. WILLIAM's Reign, when we were engag'd in War, and our Laws and Religion in the Utmost Danger. *These* are the Men, who us'd such Unnecessary Delays in giving the Necessary Supplies, as generally kept the late KING here, till the French Army was in the Field, and thereby frustrated all his Good Designs: *These* are they, who fill'd every Deficient Fund, such as they knew could never raise the Summ for which they were given; thus great Interest was paid, and thus we run into Great Debts, for which they clamour'd against the Administration; when they knew, *Themselves* were the True Cause of *these* Debts: And still they persisted in the like Practices, as, who should say, "We will make the Administration lye heavy upon the Necks of those in Office, till we crush them, with our Clamours for Miscarriages, of which *WE* are the Occasion; and so make Room for *OURSELVES*."

This Conspiracy they carry'd on with such an open bare Face, that the Best Methods that could be found out, and such as were absolutely Necessary to the Support of the Government, and of this Nation, in the Time of our Greatest Difficulties; *these* Men had the Impudence to be against, and oppose: Witness, their several Attacks upon the Bank of England, which three several times sav'd the Nation from Sinking. Witness also, their Opposing the New-Coining our Clipp-Money; in which Affair, tho' I excuse several well-meaning Men, who were misinform'd and deceiv'd, by the crafty Insinuation of others; yet I will be bold to say, there was scarce a Noted Leader, who oppos'd That GREAT UNDERTAKING, (which will remain to Posterity, a Glorious Monument of the Wisdom, Courage, Integrity and Zeal of the *then* Ministry, for the Good of their Country;) but must know, That without such an Immediate Attempt to Retire our COYN, Twelve Months more

must necessarily have Expos'd us an Easy Prey to the late K. James, with the French Tyrant upon his Shoulders; yet did *this* Party not only oppose that Glorious Work, but when in spite of their Endeavours, it was Begun, they with malicious Clamours roar'd against Each other's Bills; which Noble Invention of a New Species of Money, was absolutely Necessary to support the Nation, during the Scarcity of our Silver-Coin, and was found so Useful, that the *same* Men, who maliciously rail'd against them in the Time of K. WILLIAM, being now got into Places, do yearly give New Credit, for the Circulation of the like Bills.

Next, take a View of the most seemingly popular Action of *these* Men, namely, their being for *Disbanding the Army*; in which their Cunning blinded, and led with them, too many well-meaning English-Men: The principal Reasons they gave for so doing, may be reduc'd under these two Heads; *Fear of Arbitrary Power from K. WILLIAM, and Saving the Expence of an Army.*

Now let us Examine a little, and see whether the Honesty or Wisdom of the Contrivers of *this* DISBANDING, be most Eminent. Consider this Affair, with all its Circumstances; in which I shall not flatter K. WILLIAM.

Can any rational Man conceive it possible, K. WILLIAM should ever attempt setting up an Arbitrary Power by an Army in England, whilst the late K. James, and his pretended Prince of Wales, was with the French King; and their Title to the Crown of England, Own'd and Supported by so many Roman-Catholics, Protestants, Non-Jurors, and Jacobites here; by all the Jesuits, and so many Zealots of the Romish Religion abroad; and by the Whole Power of France. As the thing was in it self Impossible, so no reasonable Man (whatever he pretended) ever really believ'd, K. WILLIAM could ever entertain such a Thought.

Then, View the French King keeping his Troops Entire; some Scoundrels indeed were dismiss'd, but their Places fill'd again, with the Best Men he could pick up from the Troops of our German Allies: Several of the Spanish Towns he indeed Surrender'd to us, according to Treaty; but *Brissac*, and several others, which he was equally oblig'd to Surrender, he still kept; and so much was it his Interest, to have our English Army Disbanded, that no sooner did he hear, how his not Surrendering *Brissac*, &c. was us'd here, as an Argument against our Disbanding; but he immediately deliver'd them up: Well knowing, that if our Troops were once Disbanded, he should again be Master of all those Towns, without Contest, within a few Months after the Decease of the then K. of Spain, who no Body believ'd, could then probably live another Year.

Did we not all this time see the Leaders of *this* Party, paying off Old Incumbrances, and purchasing New Estates; tho' they had no Places, nor visible Way of Increasing their Substance: Yet it is thought hard, and unchristian, to say any of these Men receiv'd French PAY; and yet we know, that *such* were the Circumstances of the Time, and *such* the French King's Interest, that it would have bin well worth his while, to purchase the DISBANDING our Army, at the Expence of a Million Sterling: And that Sums of French Gold, not much short of a Million, came into England, in a little Space, about that Conjunction of Time, is known to most Money-Traders in London.

In the next place, Consider the Wisdom and Good-Husbandry of Disbanding; shall I ask, What did we Save by it? Or, may it not rather be inquir'd, Has not this occasion'd our Expence of above TEN Millions? and yet our Expence not Half over.

It was the DISBANDING our Army, and the Temper the late KING thereby sav'd predominant among too many; which occasion'd that TREATY of PARTITION, which has been so much Exclaim'd against; tho' I think, without Reason: Of which more hereafter.

If I should take the Boldness to assert, that DISBANDING the Army, occasion'd the Will which Cardinal Portocarrero made for the K. of Spain, by which he gave all his Countries to France: If I should say, that had not our Army bin Disbanded, the Spaniards would never have receiv'd a French King at Madrid, nor given up their West-India Treasures to the Direction of France; that the French King would not have broke off from the Treaty of Partition; that the Elector of Bavaria would not have yielded up Luxemburg, Namur, Chavero, Mons, Aeth, Oudenard, Ghent, Newport, Ostend, and other the Fortresses of the Spanish Low-Countries, to the French: That had not our Army bin Disbanded, neither the Elector of Bavaria, nor his Brother, the Elector of Cologne, would have gone into French Measures; whereby they, their Countries and Towns, have hitherto kept our Troops, and the Troops of our Allies in Play, during this New War; at our Excessive Expence; without our having bin yet able to gain a twentieth Part of those Towns and Countries, we or our Allies were possess'd of, when we Disbanded; and might perhaps have still enjoy'd; and either not bin engag'd in this New War, or might have already seen an End thereof: At least, we might have Begun it upon more advantageous Terms, than now we did. If I should assert, that all *these* Difficulties are owing Chiefly to the

*DISBANDING* our Army; but *Italy* in *England* Chiefly Concern'd, thinking, would Co. rradet me: But, there are Thousands of Wife Men in *Spain*, *France*, *Italy*, *Holland*, and other Parts abroad, who would maintain that Assertion to be True.

It is true indeed, *These Difficulties* we labour under, are in a great Measure owing to another Piece of *strange Management*, by which you will see the *same Party* of Men still acting by the *same Spirit*: I have not yet call'd them *Jacobites*; they are a Complication of Ill, hard to be defin'd, or comprehended under any particular Title: These are they, who when the *K. of Spain* was dead, clamor'd at the Treaty of PARTITION, for Yielding *some small Part* of the *Spanish Territories*, to the *French King*; and at the same time, would do nothing to hinder the *French* from Taking *ALL*: These are they, who compar'd the TREATY of PARTITION, to a FELONIOUS COMBINATION of *some*, to Cheat *Another* of His Right; Now, what could be meant by that RIGHT, except that Right by which the *French King* pretended to the Crown of *Spain*, in the Possession whereof *this Gentleman* was unwilling to disturb Him; let the *Author* of *this Independent Sentence*, explain: And I think, it was sufficiently explain'd, when the *same Set* of Men, instead of putting this Nation into such a Posture, as in Conjunction with Other Potentates, Interest'd in the Balance and Peace of *Europe*, might hinder the *French King* from Settling His Family and His Government, in all the *Spanish Dominions*, to the Utter Ruine of Our Trade; spent their Time in Unnecessary Insignificant IMPEACHMENTS of Men more *Reckless* than Themselves, for IMAGINARY CRIMES, which they could neither prove, nor make out to be Offences: And as the *Impetuous* had no good Foundation, the *Impetuous* could not Prosecute them, and therefore the Articles being Answer'd by as many of the respective Parties, as were Articul'd against; the Impeachments were at length worthily Dismiss'd by the LORDS, for Want of Prosecution: Yet so far did this Unaccountable Piece of Management serve the *French Interest*, that the *French King* in the mean time quietly Settles His Grand-Son upon the Throne of *Spain*, Secures to His Sister the Elector of *Bavaria*, the Elector of *Cologne*, and the Duke of *Munich*, and makes all the Fortresses of the *Spanish Low-Countries*, his Barrier against *England*, by him thus hemm'd in, to their very Doors. I do not say, any Body was Pail by *France*, for ALL THIS; but sure I am, the *French King* never had so Great a Piece of Service done for a Million of Money. (Once the SALE of *Dunkirk*), and that the *Party* merited Rewards there, much more than Places of Profit or Trust *there*.

When by these, and the like Practices, vexatious to the late KING, to Whom we owe, not only the Happiness of Her Majesties being on the Throne, but our Laws, our Religion, and our very Being; I say, when by *these Practices*, they had worn out His Weak Body, and more Vigorous Spirit, and almost Broke His Heart; (for their Untoward and Ungrateful Behaviour Contributed to His End, much more than did His FALL;) they triumph'd in His Misfortune: And to the Intent, they might have the QUEEN Entirely in their own Hands, that so they might share all Performers of Power and Profit amongst *Themselves alone*; (or perhaps, for worse Ends;) they *oppos'd* the late KING, and all such as were Intrusted by Him; as Enemies to Her Majesty, and as Persons Engag'd in a Design against Her Succession: Until Her Majesty's Wisdom and Justice did by a Publick Declaration blow away these *False Aspersions*, and *Helish Insinuations*.

Having twice nam'd the PARTITION-TREATY, I must a little explain that Affair.

Now, tho' I pray, and hope, for the Blessing of GOD, in Healing our Divisions at Home; in Opening the Eyes, and Inclining the Hearts of some of our Allies, and others Abroad, to their True Interest; and in continuing to us more Successes, like that of the most Glorious Victory lately gain'd by the Duke of *Marlborough*; that we may at length Obtain a *Better Treaty*: Yet, there are a great many Wife and Knowing Men, who are not at all sham'd to own, they would be very glad, if after so much Treasure, so many Ships and Lives, spent and lost, in the *New War*; we could yet NOW be allow'd the SAME TREATY.

And here, first of all, I think it no Presumption at all to say; that considering, the Duke of *Savoy*, contrary to his True Interest, Broke off from Our Alliance, and Joyn'd in Affinity with *France*; our Alliance with other Princes, determin'd by the Peace; the King of *Spain* at the Point of Death; the *French King's* Powerful Armies still in Being; Ours Disbanded; the past Practices (at home) of many whose Concurrence had bin Necessary towards Supporting the *Last War*; the Temper of many Leading Men then certain to serve in a New Parliament, and their Aversion against any thing which might look like Engaging in a New War: All these Things, and many other Circumstances of that Time Consider'd, I think it no manner of Presumption to say, that that Treaty was the Best and the wisest Thing, could be Obtain'd or Contriv'd for *England*, at that Time.

Take then a short View of that TREATY; of the Good Effects it might have had, and of the Ill Consequences of Not Supporting it.

By that Treaty, the *Spanish Low-Countries*, that Necessary Barrier, (Necessary for Our Own Sakes, as well as for the *Dutch*) was kept from *French Hands*; that Country, as also all the *Spanish West-Indies*, the Crown and Kingdom of *Spain* (except One small Province) were Allotted Entirely to the Family of *Austria*: Hereby our Clothing-Trade, both as to the Importation of the *Spanish Wool*, and Export of our Woollen Manufacture, was Prefer'd; as well as our Usual Share of Bullion from the *Spanish West-Indies*: Nothing was allow'd to the *French*, but some Part only of the *Spanish Territories* in *Italy*; and one small Province of the Kingdom of *Spain*, next adjoining to

*France*: Now shall it be said, that our *Italian Trade* would have bin Injur'd by what *France* was hereby to possess? Shall it not rather be Consider'd, that tho' the Interest of the Duke of *Savoy*, the *Venetians*, the Pope, the Duke of *Florence*, and other *Italian Princes*, oblig'd Them, as well as Us, to desire, the Exorbitant Power of *France* should be Curb'd; yet the first of them was gone off from Us to *France*, and the others, looking upon their Danger of being Infiltrated by *French Power*, to be remote; and that they were not so immediately Concern'd as WE were; could never be prevail'd with to Engage themselves with Us in the late War: That, Part of *Italy*, being by this Treaty yielded to *France*, would prove such an immediate Thorn in the Sides of the *Italians*, and give them such a General Alarm, as would Engage them to become the First Solicitors for a New Alliance against *France*, and to be Principals in Engaging in War against Him; into which we had bin left to take what Part we should think fit, and not at all to Engage Our-Selves, or only as Auxiliaries, so far as should to Us appear Convenient.

If you ask me, What then is the Reason why few of these *Italian Princes* (the Duke of *Savoy* excepted) have now Joyn'd with Us?

I answer, That the single Instance of the Duke of *Savoy's* being now so Heartily Engag'd with Us, is Proof enough of my Argument; but there are other Instances. And the Misfortune, that no more of those Princes are Engag'd, is in a great measure, owing to the past Wilful and Unpardonable Conduct afore-mention'd, nearer Home; by which the *French* are already too Terrible in the Bowels of *Italy*, and are also possess'd of all *Spain*, and the *West-Indies*: Hereupon, those Cautious and Cunning *Italians* do consider, That the very Being of TRADE in *England* and *Holland*, obliges us (whether we will or no) to Engage as Effectually as if WE were Principals, to drive the *French* from *Spain*, and from their *West-India Treasures*. Till when, our Sea-Force lies in Parts at too great a distance to Protect the *Italians* from the Insults of a *French Fleet*; and yet perhaps, Had we Beaten that *French Fleet* last Summer, as Admiral *Ruffel* once Beat them at *La Hogue*; or answerably to the Vain Flourishes I have seen in some Advertisers, within six Months past; you would have had more Dedicated Friends in *Italy*, and in *Spain* also, than we can yet a while hope for.

Turn we now again our Eyes upon a Set of Men, who stopping their Ears to the KING's Petition, to the General Cry of the People of *England*, and harlequining their Hearts against the Fatherly, Pathetic and Reiterated Representations made to them by the late KING, of the imminent Danger we were Expos'd to; Censure the late KING for this Partition-Treaty, and more loudly clamour against his Ministers for the same; till by these Means, and by other wilful Commissions, as well as Omissions, the *French King* Breaks from that Treaty; and seeking the fair Opportunity given him by our Madnets, Possesses Himself of EVERY THING that Belong'd to the *Spanish Crown*.

Next, Look upon this Nation forc'd at last to Engage in this *New WAR* against the *French King* (or, and against *Spain* too) arm'd with all the Advantage of Possession of Countries, Treasures, Fortresses, and Sea-Ports; which WE might have had the Benefit of, without the Expence of ONE of those TWELVE Millions, rais'd by Taxes, which is less than this War has already Cost: Then count the Number of our Scamen Lost, of our Merchant-Ships Carry'd into *France*; of Whole Families formerly in a Flourishing Condition, now Bankrupt; our Silver necessarily running out of the Kingdom for Naval Stores, and to pay our Armies abroad; but little or no Bullion for New Coins coming in; no *Spanish Wool* Imported; Little of our Woollen Manufacture Exported; Our Clothiers Undone; the Poor, in many Places, either starving for Want of Employ in the Clothing-Trade, or else Eating Bread at the Expence of Parish-Rates. (A *full View* of the Wisdom and Integrity of Our Preceded Patriots.)

Can we look on these Things, and think we shou'd any thing by DISBANDING our Army? Does not this Natural Reflection start in our Minds? That Most, if not All these Misfortunes had bin Prevented, if any Prudent and Timely Resolutions had been taken, to Support the said TREATY of PARTITION, or to hinder the *French King* from Swallowing up ALL the *Spanish Dominions*. Can we applaud the Conduct of such a Set of Men, as I have here describ'd; or can we think fit to Trust again any of that Set, of whom we have to our Cost seen; that the Least Ill we can say of them, is, That Preferment, Power and Places, guide them in All they do. It is in vain to tell me, It was not this or that Man that did so and so; 'tis Easie for particular Men to deceive you, and deny this or that particular Instance; do but set your Thoughts to work, and you will see, the same Spirit has reign'd in the Whole Party long ago, and does so now; and I doubt, will ever do so. And for my part, if I must be Undone, 'tis all one to me, whether the weak Man means well, when led to do Mischief by the Cunning Designer; or whether they be both *Knaves* alike. They who have a mind to be Deceiv'd, may be Deceiv'd.

But let me desire all Honest *English* Men to Open their Eyes, before it be too late: Reflect on those Things, which are in some of your own Knowledge.

Have you not found some Men Courting your Votes, by Pretending to an Unbias'd Integrity to their Country; telling you, that a Man who has a Place, must be Govern'd thereby, and can't be left to act without Byas, for the Good of the Nation: Have not the same Persons, by thus Getting into Parliament, Got as soon as they could, into Commissions from the Court? Have not others made you believe, that if they get into the House of Commons, they would make Lord *Orford* refund TWO Millions of the Publick Money, which

they told you, he fill had in his Hand; and that Church, and by some other like Cakes, they would Save the Nation a Year's Tax.

Fall's Intimation; that Lord's Accounts of all the Monies by him Receiv'd, were then before the Navy-Board; and appear'd to be Discharg'd to the Relieve only of 1600*l*. His Accounts are there Pass'd, and the said 1600*l*. remaining, was so only on Account, not that he owes you 5*s*. (tho' I can tell you, perhaps We owe to Him our being an English Protestant People, [tho' an Ingrateful One,] and not a French Popish Nation;) that Lord's Accounts have bin strictly Examin'd in the House of LORDS, where were some, who if they could, would gladly have made it appear, that he was so Indebted to the Publick as was Reported; but after a most strict Enquiry, even those who were his Enemies, were forc'd to Declare him, *Clear*.

But *these* and the like Intimations, *like* with Some of you; and thus *these* Sparks getting themselves Chosen to Represent you in Parliament, the next thing you see, is, a *Lord R—* is Put Out, and a Mr. *H—* is Put In, to have the Fingering of the Publick Money; the Commissioners of Accounts, and those who make them so, get what Places they can; and then *All is Well*: And you hear no more of Sums to be Retriev'd for the Publick, till towards a New Election.

Others deceive you with an Outcry for the CHURCH, for which some of them, by their Words, some in their Books, and some with their *Buttons*, declare such a flaming Zeal, and so without knowledge; that they really act as it they were Enemies to the Church, and some of them perhaps really are so: But before I enter further upon that Observation; will you but enquire into Elections throughout England, and you will find, that excepting some very few Instances, where Relation, Dependence, Private Interest, Neighbourhood, or some Personal Obligation, ty's them; the Body of Papists, Jacobites and Non-Jurors, are all link'd together with that Gang which call themselves HIGH-CHURCH, and promote their Interest in all Places: And many times, where by reason of some of the aforementioned Exceptions, the Papist may perhaps ask for the other Candidate the Vote of this or that Freeholder, or Tradesman he deals with; it is but *slightly* he doth so, and in *sub* a Manner, as shall bespeak a Denial, rather than promote the Success of the Person he asks for.

Now, is it not strange; the Papist and the Jacobite, should be Friends to the HIGH-CHURCH-Men? Not at all:

The Papists know, that the HIGH-CHURCH-Men, by refusing to allow, that Men of Temper and Moderation, (by them call'd LOW-CHURCH-Men) are of the Church, or Friends to the Church of England; they Exclude many of our Best Bishops, as well as of our Inferior CLERGY and LAITY; who by their Christian-like Temper, their Pious Lives, their Constant Attendance upon, and Joyning in, the Worship and Communion of the Church; show Themselves Better Friends to the CHURCH, than are most of those Noisy Pretenders.

The Papist expects, that when any Bill shall be Offer'd, which may Effectually Prevent the Great and Notorious late Increase of POPERY; the HIGH-CHURCH Gang shall so Clog such Bill with Clauses against Protestants, or otherwise; as may probably Prevent its Passing.

The Jacobite and Papist expect, that the HIGH-CHURCH-Men will promote these Divisions amongst us, without which it is very Unlikely, the French King should be able to Set the Pretended Prince of Wales, upon the Throne of England.

The Papist knows, that the HIGH-CHURCH-Men, by Endeavouring to promote the New Distinction of Occasional Conformists, shuts the Doors of the Church against many Families, who supposing they Conform'd a little while past for the sake of a Place, and only in part; so frequently with their whole Families, in a little time, become thoroughly Church-Men: For it is very evident, that the Churches throughout England, (especially, where the Parson is a Man of a Good Life, a Sober and Christian-like Temper) are much fuller since the Toleration, than before. I say, the Papist knowing that the Violence of the HIGH-CHURCH-Men tends to lessen, pare away, and reduce the Church of England, into too narrow a Compass; it is very natural, he should hide with them, especially when he concludes, that amongst that Party, he hugs a great many who have a Wonderful Veneration for Cardinals Caps and Triple-Crowns, and hanker after the like Pomp and Ceremony in England, are playing the Game into Popish Hands: And who, from the Pulpit, as well as the Press, declare; that the CHURCH is in Great Danger from the *Presbyterians*, but Not at all from the PAPISTS; that they had rather be Papists than Presbyterians: In a Word, who may rather be Esteem'd Friends to the Popish Church of England, as it was by Law Establish'd in the Days of Q. Mary; than True Sons of that Christian, Reformed Church of England, which is now by Law Establish'd amongst Us, and Supported by an Act for a Protestant Succession of the Crown, which many of those HIGH-FLYERS will Not swear to Maintain.

Cast your Eye upon this Tribe of *Febs*, from the Head to the Tail; and you will find; One wants to be First Minister of State, another would be Lord-Treasurer; this Man would be Secretary, he other would Govern the Fleet; (but No Contention about the Fighting-Party, Sir Cloudesly may take his Belly-full of that;) the Busy Doctor would be a Dean, and when he is so, wants to be a Bishop; another, rising fast there too long, waits to be Arch-Bishop of Canterbury; But alas! That Good Man, a Continued Example of a Christian Temper, and Apostolick Humility; whose Merit, not Ambition, rais'd him to that Function he Worthily Discharges, but never sought after; Covets no Triple Crown, nor can make way for those Ambitious Pretenders, but by his Death; which for the Good of the Church

and Nation, I hope, will be a great way off. The Country-Commons, who from Wrestling amongst Attornies at a Quarter-Senior, jump'd up to be Her Lord Steward, (a Pretension I shall not have pretended to, if he had not first jump'd into Parliament) now contented to sit upon a *Wool* Bench, aims at being One of the *English* Twelve. Nay, That Brazen-faced Physician, whose Pretensions to Learning or Religion, perhaps are little better than Drinking Good Charet with the Famous University Almanack-Maker join in with the Cry of the CHURCH; the Cry of the CHURCH is to supply Want of Skill in Physick, in the Law, and in Learning of all Sorts: A Noisy Hypocritical Pretended Zeal, must make amends for want of True Religion, for want of Virtue, for want of Merit of all Kinds, in all Professions, and in all Degrees of Men, whose fever: For in a Word, you will find; This HIGH-Gang are all Silver-Smiths, and hope to find Materials for their Work, in the Uproar they raise by their Out-cry for the Church; for which they generally have the same, and perhaps no other Value, than like their Ancient Orthodox Brother Crafts-Men, who cry out, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*: And most of them, (except such, who were Accidentally Absent, or Restrain'd by their Dependence on, and Expectation of Court-Preferment) did so far forget the Church, that by all Means they would Clog the principal MONEY-BILL, with their ill-grounded and unreasonable Zeal against Occasional Conformity; by which they might be sure, the MONEY-BILL must be Lost, to the apparent Hazard of Overthrowing both CHURCH and STATE.

Is it possible, you can overlook and not perceive, in this BILL against Occasional Conformity, the true Footsteps of French Jesuits, by whose under-hand Councils to K. Charles II. (a then conceal'd Romanist) the Church of England was set on to worry the Dissenters, that whilst Protestant was Destroying Protestant, we might not take Notice of Popery, and Arbitrary Power coming in upon us; and that the Church of Rome might play a Sure Game amongst us: Can we so soon forget how near to Ruine, *these* and the like Councils of this Time brought us; the sad Effect of which we feel to this very Day, by that Power and Strength at Sea, to which we then help'd to Raise the French King.

Is this a Time for Us to Promote Divisions among Protestants of the Church of England, and Protestants of all the Reformed Churches abroad? Are we not Unhappy enough, in having amongst us, Papists and Jacobites, Irreconcilable to our Religion and Government; But must we blow up Jealousies, Feuds, Animosities, amongst our Protestant Fellow-Countrymen? Who, in Essentials, are of the same Religion with us; are for Maintaining the same Government, and Protestant Succession; and are as Zealous as any of us all, in Supporting England in this Terrible War, which calls loudly upon us to Unite: A War, where the Dispute is not, whether or no the Church of England shall Continue as by Law Establish'd, whether or no the Toleration shall be Continu'd to Protestant Dissenters; but, whether WE shall be under a Protestant Government, or a Popish; and it may be, Whether there shall be any Protestant Government, or Profession of the Protestant Religion, throughout Europe: A War, whereof the Consequence may in Time be, whether we shall Continue a FREE People, or be a French Colony; whether we shall be Continu'd an English Nation, and not be Transplanted elsewhere; as the *Affairs* carry'd away the *Israelites*, and planted their Country with another People.

All this Misery we may reasonably apprehend, may come upon us; if GOD, as a just Judgment upon Us for our Drunkenness, Common Profaneness and Ingratitude for past Deliverances, should so stupify the Minds of Parliament-Electors; that they should blindly Trust the same sort of Men, who have so often brought US upon the Brink of UNIVERSAL RUINE.

But the Face of Things looks now, as if this Band of Men were so Discover'd, and Expos'd to the just Indignation of the People; that many of them fear, they shall NOT be Chosen again to Represent us in Parliament: And, as their Last Effort to patch up their Broken Credit, they loudly assert the Privilege of the H. of C—s, which they pretend, is likely to be Infring'd, by the Power of the LORDS. I thought, I should have been Beaten, when I ask'd one of them, If it was not reasonable for them to take heed, that the Country may not apprehend, they should assume to Themselves, a Privilege of Destroying the Liberties of all those, they Represent.

The Laws have taken care, that if I be put in Prison, I shall forthwith have an *Habeas Corpus*; and if I be Committed for any thing less than Felony, the Judges are bound to Discharge me, or to let me out upon Reasonable Bail, according to the Nature of the Offence: The CROWN owns it self bound by this Law, the LORDS pretend not to more Power than the Crown, and what is consistent with Law: But when the C—s Commit for any thing, no Matter what the Offence is, if they are pleas'd to call it *Breach of Privilege*; Take him *Jaylor*, take him *Devil*; there is no Redemption.

Now, shall I ever give my Vote to Elect that Man, who will make a Jay-Bird of me; will give his Vote to make me lie in Newgate four or five Months, because I sue a Rogue of a Sheriff, Mayor, or Bailiff, for Refusing me my Legal Right of Voting at an Election; and shall such an Injustice and Oppression, be call'd the Privilege of the H. of C—s?—God forbid: This would be Using the Law only as a Bridle upon the CROWN, One of the Three States; and allowing another of the Three arbitrarily to Tyrannize over the People, who Chose them: Nor will the Oppression stop here; for this Pernicious Doctrine, must also allow to the H. of Lords, the like Uncontrollable Power of Imprisonment, whenever they shall please in like Manner to practise upon our Liberties. And here I will take the Liberty of asserting, That whoever shall be Instrumental in Advancing or

Assisting,

Affixing, the CROWN, the House of PEERS, or the House of COMMONS, to assume to themselves, an Arbitrary Power, to the Impairing of the Laws, and of the Liberties of the Subject; is a real Enemy to that very State, whose Illegal Power he endeavours to Transgress, as well as to the others. This is a Maxim will hold Universally true, whilst we are under a Legal Administration of Government, and not in a State of War amongst our selves. And if *those* Gentlemen who knit the *Aylesbury* Men, and their Council, to Prison; will say, This is a Reflection upon them; I shall not make it my business to clear them, Let the whole World give Judgment upon the Fact.

The CASE I take to be, *Thus* :

I have an Undisputed Legal Veto, the Mayor Knowingly Refuseth to let me Pass : I bring an Action at Law against the said Mayor, for the Wronging me of my Right; this Mayor is neither Parliament-Man, nor Parliament-Man's Servant, nor any ways belonging to the Parliament; yet the H. of C—s Commit me to *Newgate* for *This*, which *They* Call an Offence, and a Breach of their Privilege : I then sue for, and am brought by Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, before the Court of King's-Bench, where the C. Justice *Held* is of Opinion, That BY LAW I ought to be Released; but a Majority of *that* Court (whether Awd by a Vote of the H. of C—s, or not; I shall not determine) Differ from him, and so I am Sent back to *Newgate* : I begin Unwilling thus to lye any longer in Prison, for only Endeavouring to Assert my Right by Law; (which I took to be NO Crime) I sue for a Writ of Error, which I take to be a Legal Way of Seeking, before the LORDS, a Redress against that Judgment given in the King's-Bench, by which I was Remanded to *Newgate*, as is afore-said : The Legal Form of this Writ of Error, requires, that it be Allow'd by the Queen, and Sign'd by Her Secretary; the QUEEN hereupon Consults Her Learned Judges; Ten of the Twelve give their Opinion, That this Writ, is a Writ of RIGHT, not of GRACE; that is to say, It is a Writ, which BY LAW, of Right belongs to the Subject, and which Her Majesty is Oblig'd to Allow; and is not like Other Requests, wherein Her Majesty may by Law be left to Her Pleasure, to Grant or Refuse, as She thinks fitting.

Hereupon, the C—s make those Votes which you see in their Printed Votes, of the 24th of *February*; the Summ of which is, That whoever has Abetted or Assisted in Prosecuting the Writs of *Habeas Corpus* for the *Aylesbury*-Prisoners afore-mention'd, or in Endeavouring to Procure the Writs of Error on their Behalf, have endeavour'd to Overthrow the Rights and Privileges of the H. of C—s, &c. And they also Address to the QUEEN, That She will Not Allow of the Writ of Error afore-mention'd, as what tends to Overthrow the Privileges of the H. of C—s, &c. The QUEEN's Answer, Expresses Her Concern, That the C—s should think Her Allowing a Writ of Error, to be a Breach of their Privilege, of which She shall be always as tender, as of Her Own Prerogative; but *THIS* being a Matter relating to Judicial Proceedings, She must be Careful What She does in so Great a Concern.

The C—s then Imprison the Council, who had appear'd at the King's-Bench-Bar, to Plead for the Prisoners upon the *Habeas Corpus*.

The LORDS, hearing of the Votes and Proceedings of the C—s in this Affair, did on the 26th of *February* come to these following Resolutions and Declarations :

I. " That Neither House of Parliament hath any Power, by any Vote or Declaration, to Create to Themselves any New Privileges, that is not Warranted by the Known Laws and Custom of Parliament.

II. " That Every Freeman of *England*, who apprehends himself to be Injur'd, has a Right to seek Redress by Action at Law; and that the Commencing, and Prosecuting any Action at Common-Law, against any Person Not intitled to the Privilege of Parliament, is No Breach of the Privilege of Parliament.

III. " That the House of Commons, in Committing to *Newgate* *Daniel Home*, *Henry Bais*, *John Eator*, *John Pats*, and *John Oviat*, for Commencing and Prosecuting an Action at Common-Law, against the late Constables of *Aylesbury*, for Not Allowing their Votes in Election of Members to Serve in Parliament; upon Pretence, that the said *Daniel*, and the others, bringing such Action, was Contrary to a Declaration, a Contempt of the Jurisdiction, and a Breach of the Privilege, of that House; — have assum'd to Themselves alone, a Legislative Authority, by pretending to attribute the Force of a Law, to their Declaration; have Claim'd a Jurisdiction not Warranted by the Constitution, and have assum'd a New Privilege, to which they can shew no Title by the Law and Custom of Parliaments; and have thereby as far as in them lyes, subverted the Rights of *English*-Men, and the Freedom of their Persons, to the Arbitrary Votes of the House of Commons.

IV. " That Every *English*-Man, who is Imprison'd by any Authority whatsoever, has an Undoubted Right, by his Agents or Friend, to apply for and obtain a Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, in Order to procure his Liberty by due Course of Law.

V. " That for the House of Commons to Censure or Punish any Person, for Assisting a Prisoner to procure a Writ of *Habeas Corpus*; or by Vote, or otherwise, to deter Men from Soliciting, Prosecuting or Pleading upon such Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, in Behalf of such Prisoners; is an Attempt of Dangerous Consequence, a Breach of the many Good Statutes provided for the Liberty of the Subject and of pernicious Example; by Denying the Necessary Assistance to the Prisoner, upon a Commitment of the House of Commons, which has ever been allow'd upon all Commitments, by any Authority whatsoever.

VI. " That a Writ of Error is not a Writ of Grace, but of RIGHT; and ought Not to be Deny'd to the Subject, when duly Apply'd for, tho' at the Request of Either House of Parlia-

ment; the Denial thereof being an Obstruction of Justice, contrary to *MAGNA CHARTA*.

But we are told, with a great deal of Artifice and affected Popularity, That this Proceeding of the H. of C—s is for the Good of the People; that 'tis Necessary to assert the Privilege of the C—s, especially in the Case of their Power of Imprisonment; that we must not Countenance the Judicature of the House of LORDS; that they Encroach upon us thereby, and will in time grow too Powerful over our Estates. *A very pretty Story* : A mad Neighbour of mine throws me into a Pit, and I must not desire to be help'd out by the next Charitable Body that comes by me, because he is of another Parish.

But I pray, tell me, How came the Judicatory of the House of LORDS in Question, at *this* Time? There had been no Occasion of naming the LORDS, if the C—s had not Arbitrarily Committed to Prison a Parcel of their Fellow-Commoners, without Law or Reason, and Over-aw'd some of the too Easy J—s with their Declaratory Votes : Hence comes the Application to the LORDS for Relief against Unreasonable Oppression : The due Course of the Law of *Habeas Corpus*, for Relief of an *English*-Man, Imprison'd without Cause, being stop'd in *Westminster-Hall*; the poor Prisoner sues for Relief to the LORDS, the Supreme Court of Judicature.

Now shall any Man tell me, It is for my Good, that he cuts my Neighbour's Throat, and desires to have it in his Power to cut my Throat also, or to wound me in a most sensible Part, such as is my LIBERTY. Shall I regard that Man, who sets Fire to my Neighbour's House; and shall I not be thankful to any Charitable Hand, that will help me with Water to quench that Fire, and prevent the Burning of my own House?

Let the C—s do Justice in Elections; let them not Extend their Notion of Privilege, till it become Oppressive : Let them be tender of Over-loading Themselves with the Executive Power of the Law, of prostrating their Credit, and that Awe and Reverence which is due to that House; — by Unnecessary Impeachments, or Censures in Trivial Matters : Let Them behave Themselves with Temper, Discretion, and Justice; and not fall foul upon Men, purely to get Places for Themselves and Party; let them shew Themselves Truly Careful of the Interest and Liberties of the People they Represent, as well as make their Court to the Crown; (*such* a H. of C—s I will not despair of seeing, some time or other;) and we need not fear, but that whenever the LORDS shall Extend their Judicial Power beyond Bounds of Reason and Law, so as it grow Mischievous to the People; the repair'd Reputation and well-grounded Power of the C—s of *England*, will quickly Over-balance any Unreasonable Pretensions of the LORDS : Nor will there be wanting (if such Case ever happen) among the LORDS, some, able and ready to help the C—s, in Comprolling all Exorbitant Power, or Mischievous Abuse of the Authority, which the House of Peers may pretend to.

But when the C—s shall Oppress, and the LORDS Relieve from Oppression; when the LORDS shall Behave Themselves with more Wisdom, more Justice, and tender Regard to the Good of the Crown, to the Good of the Commons, and of the Whole Nation, than the H. of C—s shall do; 'tis a Jest, to bid a Commoner beware of the Judicature of the LORDS : The People of *England* will in such Case thankfully pay to that Noble House, that Respect and due Regard, which they are more naturally inclin'd to yield to the House which Represents them.

Now if you ask me, if *these* Votes and Proceedings of the C—s may not tend to Encourage the Sheriffs, Mayors, Constables, and other Officers; to Abuse the Queen's Subjects, by Refusing to Admit in the Next Elections, many Legal Votes; if they happen to be Offer'd against such Person, whom the Officer is inclin'd to Return.

I answer; Perhaps all such Persons, who fear they can't be Legally Chosen, may hope for such an Effect from the afore-said Proceedings; but I believe, they will be Mistaken : For First, It is probable, the Next H. of C—s may be of a different Opinion from the *Present* House; and therefore the Opinion of *this* House, can be No Security to an Officer, in playing the R—*—*. Again, To Counterbalance the Votes of the C—s, you have the afore-mentioned Resolutions of the LORDS, which are at least full as Weighty as the Others; and have the Advantage on their Side, with all Reasonable Men, in regard, the LORDS Declare against Arbitrary Power in Themselves, as well as in the H. of C—s. Again, Neither the Vote of the H. of C—s, nor the Vote of the H. of LORDS, can either of them have the Force of the Law; so then, the Law remains as it was; and will some time or other Punish the Wicked-Doers. But Lastly, You have a Judgment upon Record, in the H. of LORDS (the Highest Court of Judicature) Given in their Judicial Capacity, in the CASE of *Wine and Ale*; upon a Verdict for Considerable Damages Obtain'd by the Plaintiff, in an Action against an Officer, for Refusing him his Legal Vote. All which, together with the Reason of the Thing, will probably deter all Officers, except Profligate Villains, Blind Fools, and Mad-Men, from Making *False Returns*; or Using *those Illegal Ways*, which some Ill Men have formerly Practis'd.

I must Add, That since these Observations were in the Press, Her Majesty has Assur'd the H. of LORDS, That She should have Allow'd the Writ of Error (afore-mention'd) had it not been Necessary for Her to put an End to the Session, by which the Intent of the Writ of Error (being the Discharge of the Prisoners) is Effected : Her Majesty has hereby given us a fresh Instance of Her Goodness, Justice, and tender Care of Her People; in that, the Earnest Address of the H. of C—s could not Prevail upon Her to put a Stop to the due Course of Law, or to Countenance that Great Body, in Oppressing or Injuring the Least of Her Subjects.

F I N I S.







# Some Plain OBSERVATIONS, Recommended to the Consideration of every Honest English-Man; Especially, to the Electors of Parliament-MEMBERS.

I Have liv'd at London the most of my days, where conversing with Freedom and Indifference, with People of all Parties, and reading with like Indifference Papers printed and recommended by all Sides; I can't but pity the Case of many my honest Fellow-Subjects, who would Choose Good Parliament-Men, if they knew how to distinguish; but who living at a distance from London, (the Place of Action, and of Intelligence) are either blindly led by some powerful Neighbour, or misinform'd and misguided by the false Insinuations of some self-designing Acquaintance; or else expect Infrustration from the multitude of Papers, which (especially just before a New Election) flow from the Press, without Number; but these Papers being perfectly contradictory to each other, and giving a different Character, both of Persons and Things, just as may best serve the Ends of *that* Party, to which the Author is inclin'd; a Man instead of being instructed by these Papers, is sometimes bewilderd, and often deceiv'd, and seldom gains any Increase of Knowledge, except it be, that some call *Right*, that which others call *Wrong*; and that we have the Misfortune of being a foolish and divided People. And since we are so, I advise, that when you read or hear, yet mind what is *Done*, more than what is *Said*; and that you consider the constant Behaviour of *this* or *that* Party, or Person, who pretends to instruct you: Consider, if their present Words and Actions agree with their former Declarations, or if their former Insinuations and Professions were only to deceive you for selfish Ends of personal Advantage: If you find this happen in many Instances, upon many Persons, of one and the same Party; you will thereby be naturally led to suspect the whole Party.

I once thought, nothing could draw me from my Indifference to *all* Parties; or make me break my Resolution of Joyning with *None*; but when I observ'd a certain Set of Men, perpetually clamouring against the Conduct of the late King WILLIAM's Reign, distressing his Ministers by all Ways imaginable, and not sparing the KING Himself; Excluding many of His Friends from Parliament, on Pretence of their having Places, and yet keeping in Parliament others, tho' under the *same* Circumstances; courting a popular Esteem, by declaring they would *never* have any Place, whilst they had the Honour of a Place in Parliament; I say, when I consider'd these Things; and that *these* Men got into Court-Places, which they sought after with Greediness, as often as they had any Opportunity to do so; I was unavoidably led to a more strict Inquisition into the Conduct and Designs of these Men; and at length could find little Difference between them and their whole Party; except, that some of them were got into Places, and others would have got them, if they could. But that Places and Preferments were the Rule and Guide of all their Actions; however gilded over with specious popular Pretences, by which they deceiv'd many well-meaning People, to the great and irreparable Damage of these Kingdoms, appear'd to me very plainly; and gave me such an ugly Prospect of the fatal Consequence of their Proceedings, as forces me to call out to my Brethren, "SAVE YOURSELVES FROM THIS UNTOWARD GENERATION."

To give you a full and particular Account of the Conduct of *these* Men, in all the Instances, by which they have sacrific'd the Good and Welfare of our Country, to their Malice or Ambition, were too long for this Paper; I'll only touch upon some few Instances from time to time, which shews, the same Spirit has all along reign'd in them.

How did they clog the Wheels of the Government in the late K. WILLIAM's Reign, when we were engag'd in War, and our Laws and Religion in the Utmost Danger. *These* are the Men, who us'd such Unnecessary Delays in giving the Necessary Supplies, as generally kept the late KING here, till the French Army was in the Field, and thereby frustrated all his Good Designs: *These* are they, who fill'd every Deficient Fund; such as *they* knew could never raise the Summ for which they were given; thus great Interest was paid, and thus we run into Great Debts, for which they clamour'd against the Administration; when they knew, *Themselves* were the True Cause of *these* Debts: And still they persisted in the like Practices, as who should say, "We will make the Administration lye heavy upon the Necks of those in Office, till we crush them; with our Clamours for Miscarriages, of which *WE* are the Occasion; and to make Room for *OURSELVES*."

This Conspiracy they carry'd on with such an open bare Face, that the Best Methods that could be found out, and such as were absolutely Necessary to the Support of the Government, and of this Nation, in the Time of our Greatest Difficulties; *these* Men had the Impudence to be against, and oppose: Witness, their several Attacks upon the Bank of England, which three several times sav'd the Nation from Sinking. Witness also, their Opposing the New-Coining our Clipp-Money; in which Affair, tho' I excuse several well-meaning Men, who were misinform'd and deceiv'd, by the crafty Insinuation of others; yet I will be bold to say, there was scarce a Noted Leader, who oppos'd that GREAT UNDERTAKING, (which will remain to Posterity, a Glorious Monument of the Wisdom, Courage, Integrity and Zeal of the *then* Ministry, for the Good of their Country;) but must know, That without such an Immediate Attempt to Rectifie our COYN, Twelve Months more

must necessarily have Expos'd us an Easy Prey to the late K. James, with the French Tyrant upon his Shoulders; yet did *this* Party not only oppose that Glorious Work, but when in spite of their Endeavours, it was Begun, they with malicious Clamours roar'd against Exchequer-Bills; which Noble Invention of a New Species of Money, was absolutely Necessary to support the Nation, during the Scarcity of our Silver-Coyn, and was found to be useful, that the *same* Men, who maliciously rais'd against them in the Time of K. WILLIAM, being now got into Places, do yearly give New Credit, for the Circulation of the like Bills.

Next, take a View of the most seemingly popular Action of *these* Men, namely, their being for *Disbanding the Army*; in which their Cunning blinded, and led with them, too many well-meaning English-Men: The principal Reasons they gave for so doing, may be reduc'd under these two Heads; Fear of Arbitrary Power from K. WILLIAM; and Saving the Expence of an Army.

Now let us Examine a little, and see whether the Honesty or Wisdom of the Contrivers of that *DISBANDING*, be most Eminent. Consider this Affair, with all its Circumstances; in which I shall not flatter K. WILLIAM.

Can any rational Man conceive it possible, K. WILLIAM should ever attempt setting up an Arbitrary Power by an Army in England, whilst the late K. James, and his pretended Prince of Wales, was with the French King; and their Title to the Crown of England, Own'd and Supported by so many Roman-Catholics, Protestants, Non-Jurors, and Jacobites here; by all the Jesuits, and so many Zealots of the Romish Religion abroad; and by the Whole Power of France. As the thing was in it self impossible, so no reasonable Man (whatever he pretended) ever really believ'd, K. WILLIAM could ever entertain such a Thought.

Then, View the French King keeping his Troops Entire; some Scoundrels indeed were dismiss'd, but their Places fill'd again, with the Best Men he could pick up from the Troops of our German Allies: Several of the Spanish Towns he indeed Surrender'd to us, according to Treaty; but *Brisac*, and several others, which he was equally oblig'd to Surrender, he still kept; and so much was it his Interest, to have our English Army Disbanded, that no sooner did he hear, how his not Surrendering *Brisac*, &c. was us'd here, as an Argument against our Disbanding; but he immediately deliver'd them up. Well knowing, that if our Troops were once Disbanded, he should again be Master of all those Towns, without Contest, within a Few Months after the Decease of the then K. of Spain, who no Body believ'd, could then probably live another Year.

Did we not all this time see the Leaders of *this* Party, paying off Old Incumbrances, and purchasing New Estates; tho' they had no Places, nor visible Way of increasing their Substance: Yet it is thought hard, and unchristian, to say any of these Men receiv'd French PAY; and yet we know, that such were the Circumstances of the Time, and such the French King's Interest; that it would have bin well worth his while, to purchase the *DISBANDING* our Army, at the Expence of a Million Sterling: And that Sums of French Gold, not much short of a Million, came into England, in a little Space, about that Conjunction of Time, is known to most Money-Traders in London.

In the next place, Consider the Wisdom and Good-Husbandry of Disbanding; shall I ask, What did we Save by it? Or, may it not rather be inquir'd, Has not this occasion'd our Expence of above TEN Millions? and yet our Expence not Half over.

It was the *DISBANDING* our Army, and the Temper the late KING thereby sav'd predominant among too many; which occasion'd that TREATY of PARTITION, which has been so much Exclaim'd against; tho' I think, without Reason: Of which more hereafter.

If I should take the Boldness to assert, that *DISBANDING* the Army, occasion'd the Will which Cardinal Portocarrero made for the K. of Spain, by which he gave all his Countries to France; If I should say, that had not our Army bin Disbanded, the Spaniards would never have receiv'd a French King at Madrid, nor given up their West-India Treasures to the Direction of France; that the French King would not have broke off from the Treaty of Partition; that the Elector of Bavaria would not have yielded up Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroy, Mons, Aeth, Oudenard, Ghent, Newport, Ostend, and other the Fortresses of the Spanish Low-Countries, to the French: That had not our Army bin Disbanded, neither the Elector of Bavaria, nor his Brother, the Elector of Cologne, would have gone into French Measures; whereby they, their Countries and Towns, have hitherto kept our Troops, and the Troops of our Allies in Play, during this New War; at our Excessive Expence; without our having bin yet able to gain a twentieth Part of those Towns and Countries, we or our Allies were possess'd of, when we Disbanded; and might perhaps have still enjoy'd; and either not bin Engag'd in this New War, or might have already seen an End thereof: At least, we might have Begun it upon more advantageous Terms, than now we did. I should assert, that all *these* Difficulties are owing Chiefly





